* PET-Lot 2

Copy No. 6

SECRET
US Officials Only

0973
Z1092-5
#4461/47

RECENT EVENTS IN SINKIANG

OIR Report No. 4461

July 11, 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REFERENCE DIVISION
FILE COPY
PLEASE RETURN
REF

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Division of Research for Far East
OFFICE OF INTELLIGENCE RESEARCH

SECRET
US Officials Only

SECRET

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
I.	Situation as of January 1947	1
	A. Areas of Control	1
	B. Status of January 1946 Agreements	2
II.	Developments from January to April 1947.	4
III.	Developments in May and June 1947.	6
IV.	Soviet Activities	8
	A. Trade and Barter Agreements	8
	B. Exploitation of Strategic Minerals	9
	C. Military Activities	10
	D. Soviet Citizenship Offer	11

APPENDIXES

A.	Identifications	12
B.	Place Names	13
C.	Agreement of January 2, 1946 and Annex of June 2, 1946	14
Map of Sinkiang	following	18

SECRET

RECENT EVENTS IN SINKIANG

I. SITUATION AS OF JANUARY 1947

A. Areas of Control

At the beginning of the year, the Chinese provincial government in Sinkiang had nominal control over the areas of Ti-hua, Ha-mi, Karashahr, Ho-tien, Yarkand, Kashgar, and Aqsu. Except for Ti-hua and Ha-mi, these areas fall into the Nan-chiang section of the province.

In the far northwestern areas of I-ning and T'a-ch'eng, Chinese authority was to all purposes nonexistent. The Turki groups that had led the rebellion of 1944-45 were in full control and Chinese military and political personnel were effectively barred. At the extreme north, in the Ashan region, a currently pro-Chinese and anti-Soviet Kazakh leader named Osman provided an outpost of Chinese influence, although the area was by no means under provincial government control.

Throughout the Nan-chiang section, native unrest was endemic. By comparison with the rebel-controlled northwest, which was engaging in trade with the USSR, the south was in an advanced stage of economic deterioration, a situation accentuated by the lack of aid from the Chinese National Government. The region was garrisoned by Chinese troops, who constituted an additional economic burden upon the native population. Rebel propaganda, under these circumstances, was highly effective in fanning anti-Chinese sentiment.

B. Status of January 1946 Agreement[1]

1. Political Terms. The implementation of the political terms of the 1946 agreement between the rebels and the Chinese provincial government was some degree short of complete. The provincial authorities believed, apparently with justification, that elections (pursuant to Article 1 of the agreement) in I-ning, T'a-ch'eng, and Ashan had been inadequately supervised. In T'a-ch'eng a mob had prevented any provincial supervision, and in Ashan the election supervisor, a Kazakh, along with several assistants, had been murdered. Only after the elections had been held in I-ning was a Chinese official permitted to enter the area.

The Provincial Consultative Assembly, also called for by Article 1, had not been established because of incomplete returns from the district elections. Special administrative officials, the Chuan Yuan, had been appointed, however, after consultation with the I-ning (rebel) leaders. Over other political articles there was no apparent disagreement, but Article 10, covering military affairs, and Article 11, calling for the release of political prisoners, had not been carried out in full. In the latter connection, the provincial government pointed particularly to the murder of a number of Chinese officials in T'a-ch'eng.

2. Military Terms. The provincial authorities also believed that the military annex to the 1946 agreement had not been properly implemented.

1. See Appendix C.

Their charges against the Turki leaders covered the following points:

a. The I-ning group had not reported the strength of the Turki units in men, equipment, and horses, and the agreed-upon reorganization of military forces had not been undertaken. Yi Shat Jan (Izaak Jamnahajieff), the I-ning commander in chief, had not appeared in Ti-hua for discussions of the matter, nor had investigations of military dispositions by provincial authorities been permitted.

b. No arrangement had been made for the acceptance of National Government flags by Turki regiments in the I-ning, T'a-ch'eng, and Ashan areas.

c. During July, August and September of 1946 government funds had been supplied for the Turki regiments, but I-ning leaders had prevented provincial supervision of their distribution. Provincial authorities had then discontinued the provision of funds.

d. Despite specific agreement, government troops had not been allowed to enter the T'a-ch'eng and Ashan areas for patrol duty along the USSR border.

e. No provision had been made for the reception of provincial officers who were to be attached for training purposes to Turki regiments. The commanders of these regiments had failed to appear at the Ti-hua Military Academy for training as provided for in the military agreement.

On the ground that I-ning had failed to fulfill these conditions of the agreement, the provincial government refused to appoint as officers of the Peace Preservation Corps of Nan-chiang the individuals nominated, as provided in the agreement, by I-ning. The I-ning spokesmen in turn stressed this as evidence of provincial bad faith and charged further (and correctly, it seems[1]) that the Ti-hua authorities had not removed the mud pillboxes installed in and about the city; agreement for

1. A-106, Nanking, May 21, 1947, SECRET.

such removal was claimed by the I-ning leaders to have been added to the original articles.

II. DEVELOPMENTS FROM JANUARY TO APRIL 1947

In late February a series of riots, culminating in a proclamation of martial law, were set off in Ti-hua by the murder of the chauffeur of the Turki vice governor, Burkhan (Pao-erh-han), by a Chinese mob. Since Burkhan is the most important Turki who remained aloof from the I-ning rebellion and has been a consistent National Government supporter, the reasons for the action of the Chinese mob are obscure. The subsequent riots, however, reflected the deep antagonism between Turkis and Hans in the capital city.

A significant occurrence in the Ashan area in March was the reported launching by 2,000 troops under the I-ning military leader, Yi Shat Jan, of an offensive that drove the currently pro-government Kazakh leader, Osman, south to Kurte in the Pei-ta-shan area. The origins of this affair are clouded, but Osman's control over a body of Kazakh tribesmen and his bitter hostility toward the USSR suggest a motive for purging this mineral-producing district of a dissident leader. It also appears, however, that an intra-tribal dispute with another Kazakh chief, known as Talihan, was at issue, with Talihan seeking or accepting I-ning aid in the dispute.

Although the vice governor, Burkhan, was dispatched to Ashan to

aid Osman (presumably by mediating the dispute), Ti-hua did not send provincial troops to the area. According to the Sinkiang garrison commander, General Sung Hsi-lien, troops were not sent because Governor Chang Chih-chung deliberately chose not to risk the political consequence of a clash with I-ning forces.

In the Nan-chiang region, at Ku-ch'e, government military forces in February killed a number of Turki civilians. The newspaper correspondent who confirmed this story reported at the same time that the Aqsu Chuan Yuan, a Turki named Abdul Aziz Maxum, had found himself unable to perform his official duties despite or because of his provincial credentials. He returned to Ti-hua in April, after several months of ineffectual residence at Aqsu. His report was that unless "conditions" were improved the Nan-chiang region might turn for relief "abroad."[1]

Additional information on the situation in Nan-chiang was provided by Mohammed Emin, a Turki member of the Kuomintang, after an inspection trip into the area. Emin reported that five district magistrates, duly elected by popular vote, had been prevented from taking office by Han civil and military officials joined by local reactionary Moslems. In another district, he said, the same groups had not permitted elections at all. At Ho-tien, the Chinese military had killed civilians. Throughout the region, he believed, the policies of Chang Chih-chung were

1. A-62, Nanking, April 15, 1947, CONFIDENTIAL.

misunderstood, disregarded, or sabotaged by 80 percent of the Chinese Army general officers.

Chang himself visited Man-chiang in late April or May and reportedly was generally well received. At Kashgar his intervention was sought by a group of Turkis complaining against marriages between Moslem women and Chinese military personnel in contravention of existing regulations. Chang agreed to pronounce invalid the marriages that had occurred subsequent to enactment of the regulations, but refused to hear further complaints against military personnel. Among the Turki demands, apparently, was one calling for the direct election of army generals.

III. DEVELOPMENTS IN MAY AND JUNE 1947

It was officially announced in May that Masud Sabri, a Moslem and a long-time member of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, was to replace Chang Chih-chung as provincial chairman and that General Liu (Secretary general or Foreign Office representative?) would be superseded by an Uighur, Aissa (Isa Yusuf Beg; Ai Sha).

Sabri's appointment brought loud protests from a portion of the I-ning group, led by the I-ning vice governor, Achmud. In this connection, an episode curious even by the standards of the tangled situation in Sinkiang took place in Ti-hua: two sets of handbills appeared simultaneously, one set suggesting that Achmud was a Soviet puppet, the other attacking Sabri and the National Government; both were reported to have

been distributed from a Soviet-owned automobile. The intent of the action was unclear to the point of total mystery. The consulate suggested as a remote hypothesis that the affair might have reflected a tortuous Soviet effort to conceal the origin of the handbills attacking Sabri and to give Achmud an excuse for a counterblast against provincial authorities.

These political developments were overshadowed in early June when reports came of attacks by Outer Mongolian forces, supported by Soviet-marked planes, against the border garrison in the Pei-ta-shan, a mountain range northeast of Ch'i-t'ai. Investigation of the incident disclosed that Osman, the Kazakh leader who had been driven out of Ashan in April, was allied with a unit of Chinese troops in fighting off the Outer Mongolians. Osman, who acknowledges an aspiration to lead his 1,200 Kazakh followers back into their Ashan homeland, expects further attacks, with Outer Mongolians driving from the east and his Kazakh enemy, Talihan, coming down from Ashan to the north. It may perhaps be inferred that the USSR, in its desire to preclude a return of the vociferously anti-Soviet Osman to a border area where Soviet mineral exploitation is reportedly under way, will see to it that his expectations are fulfilled. It should be noted, however, that the Outer Mongolia-Sinkiang border in the Pei-ta-shan area is not demarcated and that the border issue plus intra-tribal quarrels

may be the root and only causes of the dispute. Osman, in any case, is confident that he can withstand further attacks if sufficient ammunition and foodstuffs are forthcoming.

IV. SOVIET ACTIVITIES

A. Trade and Barter Arrangements

In November 1946, the Chinese authorities in Sinkiang handed to the Soviet consul general at Ti-hua a trade proposal providing (a) that trade would be handled by the Chinese through a government agency established for the purpose and (b) that joint exploitation of provincial resources of petroleum, wolfram, and tin would be arranged on the basis of equal capital contributions. As of June 1947 the Soviets had made no reply to these suggestions.

Meanwhile, Nanking agreed to permit 140 Soviet trucks to enter Sinkiang for the purpose of transporting to the USSR a backlog of approximately 3,000 tons of wolfram, tea, and bristles from Hsing-hsing-hsia in Kansu and from Ha-mi. These stocks from southwest China had been set aside as partial payment for Soviet supplies provided to China under the Sino-Soviet barter arrangements of 1938-40. It was agreed that the trucks would proceed from Alma Ata into Sinkiang without a search at the border.

Available reports indicate that by June some trucks had completed this mission but that others were being delayed, awaiting repairs to the bridge over the Manass River north Ti-hua. The bridge had been destroyed

as a means of barring movements of Chinese forces from Ti-hua into I-ning territory, but Soviet requirements seemingly were sufficient argument to persuade the I-ning leadership that repairs could safely be made. Reports from Ti-hua note that the waiver of right to search the incoming trucks was not a popular decision with the Sinkiang garrison commander, General Sung, and mention the alleged delivery of "suspicious-looking boxes" directly to the USSR Consulate in Ti-hua.[1]

B. Exploitation of Strategic Minerals

Chinese military sources reported in March that Soviet military planes frequently landed near the wolfram deposits at Fu-wen (north of the Pei-ta-shan range in the Ashan area) and that in 1946 Soviet trucks, operating on regular schedules, had allegedly removed 2,000 tons of ore from this region to the USSR.[2]

In apparent confirmation of these reports, Osman is quoted as stating that in May 1946 a Soviet mining expedition of 200 men, accompanied by Red Army guards, had entered Ashan and built an airfield near Ch'eng-hua. He is further cited as authority for the statement that the Soviets in Ashan were working mineral deposits near Ch'eng-hua and Fu-wen for four minerals: wolumbyet (sic), beryl, spodumene, and an unidentified mineral.[3]

1. T-739, Nanking, April 4, 1947, CONFIDENTIAL.
2. T-532, Nanking, March 12, 1947, SECRET.
3. T-1466, Nanking, July 6, 1947, SECRET.

C. Military Activities

During the American Consul's recent motor trip into the I-ning area, Soviet military personnel in small numbers were seen throughout the region. At I-ning it was reported to him that 500 Soviet troops had evacuated the city upon his arrival. While in the area he was assigned as a guard an individual believed to be an NKVD (Soviet secret police) agent.

Chinese claims of Soviet military assistance to the I-ning rebels have come from as high an authority as General Chang Chih-chung, who reports having seen in use planes and guns that could only have been of Soviet origin. In the investigation of the Pei-ta-shan incident, a US observer found no evidence of participation by USSR personnel as such but did see road mines of Soviet make on the road from Ch'i-t'ai to the Pei-ta-shan area and, at the border patrol outpost, Soviet arms and equipment that had been captured from Outer Mongolian forces. He pointed out that the planes used during the Outer Mongolian offensive could not have been observed carefully by the patrol during strafing attacks. It is generally assumed, however, that the planes were of Soviet manufacture. The nationality of the planes' pilots, of course, could not be established.

D. Soviet Citizenship Offer

The Soviet consulates in Sinkiang have offered USSR citizenship not only to Russian expatriates in the province but also to many natives. This practice has caused some embarrassment to provincial authorities, since the Soviet consulte acts to protect these newly adopted Soviet citizens if they become involved in any incidents. For this reason, the provincial government has announced a policy of refusing to recognize the relinquishment of Chinese citizenship unless approved in advance by the Ministry of the Interior.

APPENDIX A

IDENTIFICATIONS

ABDUL AZIZ MAXIM

Turki Aqsu Chuan Yuan.

ACHMUD (Ahmed Jan Kasimi, Achmud Jan Kasimoff, Achmud Jan Hasloff, Achmed Jan)

An Uighur reported to be a Soviet citizen, vice governor of Sinkiang, and one of the leading I-ning rebels.

AISSA (Isa Yusuf Beg, Ai Sha)

An Uighur who has spent much time in Nanking and Chungking; pro-Chinese; secretary general of the Sinkiang provincial government.

BURKHAN (Burhan, Pao-erh-han)

Vice governor of Sinkiang; member of the State Council.

MASUD SABRI (Mai-ssu-wa-te)

A Turki Moslem leader, head of the Sabri clan; member of the Kuomintang's Central Executive Committee for many years; appointed governor of Sinkiang in May 1947.

OSMAN (Usman, Osman Batur Smayloff, Osman Bator)

A Kazakh leader and member of the Sinkiang provincial government.

YI SHAT JAN (Izaak Jammahajieff)

A Kirghiz; member of the Sinkiang provincial government; member of the Military Implementation Committee; commander of I-ning military forces.

APPENDIX B

PLACE NAMES

	Coordinates
Aqsu (A-k'o-su)	4108-7956
Ashan (district in north Sinkiang around Ch'eng-hua)	---
Ch'eng-hua (Sharasume, Aertai)	4750 8807
Fu-wen (Koktobai)	4713-8938
Ha-mi (Qomul)	4248-9327
Ho-tien (Khotan)	4030-8048
Hsing-hsing-hsia	4148-9509
I-li (Sui-tung)	3929-7558
I-ning (Kuldja, Ning-yüan)	4355-8114
Karashahr (Yen-ch'i, Yenki)	4204-8619
Kashgar (Su-fu)	3929-7558
Ch'i-t'ai (Kuchengtze, Kitai)	4401-8928
K'u-ch'e	4145-8304
Kurte	4710-8910
Manass (Sui-lai)	4421-8619
Pei-ta-shan (Baitiktau, Baitikbagdo)	4517-9050
T'a-ch'eng (Chugachek)	4645-8257
Ti-hua (Urumchi)	4348-8735
Yarkand (Yeh-erh-ch'iang, So-ch'e)	3825-7720

APPENDIX C

AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 2, 1946 AND ANNEX OF JUNE 2, 1946

I. AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 2, 1946[1]

Article 1. District magistrates (hsien chang) and assistant district magistrates to be elected by the people;

District Councils (hsien ts'an i hui) to be elected within three months of the effective date of the agreement;

Chuan Yuan (special administrative officials in charge of ch'u, i.e., administrative areas each of which contains a number of hsien) to be recommended by the Provincial Council (or Provincial Consultative Assembly, Sheng Ts'an I Hui) and appointed by the Central Government;

Provincial Consultative Assembly to be elected by the District Councils;

The Provincial Government to be reorganized prior to the promulgation of the New Constitution in accordance with the terms of Article 9 below;

Article 2. Religious freedom to be guaranteed;

Article 3. Two languages to be used in all official documents, Chinese and Uighur (i.e., Turki);

...

Article 4. Lower and middle schools to be in the language of the race of the students;

Study of Chinese to be obligatory in middle school;

...

1. Summary of Agreement of January 2, 1946, quoted from D-35, Tihwa, January 28, 1946, SECRET.

Article 5. Publication and speech to be free;

Article 6. Taxation to be lightened, the standard to be the productive power of the community;

Article 7. Freedom of cultural expansion guaranteed;

Article 8. Freedom of trade guaranteed, foreign trade to be governed by treaty relationships;

Article 9. Prior to the adoption of the National Constitution, the Provincial Government of Sinkiang to be reorganized:

Provincial Committee of 25 Committeemen to be established.

10 of the 25 to be Chinese appointed by the Central Government;

15 to be natives of Sinkiang "recommended by the people" and appointed by the Central Government:

Of the 10 appointed by the Central Government:

One to be Chairman of the Province; four others to be, respectively;

Secretary General of the Provincial Government;

Commissioner of Finance;

Commissioner of Civil Affairs;

Commissioner of Social Welfare;

Of the 15 recommended by the people:

...

Two to be Vice Secretaries General;

Three others to be, respectively,

Commissioner of Education;

Commissioner of Reconstruction;

Commissioner of Health;

In each case where the T'ing Chang or Ch'u Chang (head of Bureau or Office, i.e., Commissioner) is Chinese, the Vice Commissioner must be a native; where the Commissioner is a native, the Vice Commissioner must be a Chinese.

Article 10. Rebel troops to be reorganized as Central troops or Peace Preservation Corps;

Rebel Commanders to enter Central Government military schools, under instructors to be deputed by the Central Government; troops however to preserve their popular and local character;

The number of these troops and their stations to be determined in later discussions.

Article 11. Persons arrested on either side during hostilities to be freed; Chinese Government guarantees that there will be no further discriminatory (sic) arrests.

II. ANNEX OF JUNE 2, 1946[1]

Article 1. Native troops in the I-ning, T'a-ch'eng, and Ashan areas to be formed into six regiments, three to be National Government forces and three to act as provincial Peace Preservation Corps (PPC).

1. Summarized from T-965, Nanking, June 13, 1946, SECRET.

Article 2. The immediate commander of all six units to be a Moslem, nominated by the native leadership. He in turn to report to the provincial garrison commander on matters concerning the three National Government regiments and to the provincial Peace Preservation Corps commander on matters concerning the three PPC regiments. The individual selected for this post also to be made vice commander of the provincial PPC.

Article 3. The units in question to garrison and maintain order within the three districts of I-ning, T'a-ch'eng, and Ashan. Border defense duty reserved to National Government troops, distributed in the same manner as before the local rebellion.

Article 4. PPC units in the Man-chiang section to be revamped; recruiting to be from the native population and reorganization methods to be devised in consultation with the Moslem commander provided for in Article 2.

Article 5. The provincial government agrees that standards of equipment and supply for the six native regiments will equal those of the National Government troops and the PPC.

Article 6. The provincial government to be informed of and to approve the garrison points selected by the Moslem commander for the six native regiments. The agreement as a whole to become effective upon Nanking's approval. Appointments to posts in the provincial government to be placed before the Executive Yuan meeting of June 18 for approval.

CHINA
SINKIANG

International Boundary

The Sinkiang—Mongolia Border shown is approximate.

The international boundaries shown on this map do not necessarily correspond in all cases to the boundaries recognized by the U. S. Government.

Provincial Boundary

Railroad

Main Highway

Secondary Road or Caravan Route

Mountain Pass

1:7,260,000

0 50 100 200 Miles

0 50 100 200 Kilometers

72 76 80 84 88 92 96

48 44 40 36

U. S. S. R.

MONGOLIA

KANSU

TSINGHAI

TIBET

INDIA

AFGHANISTAN

U

Akterek

Polurovka

Ch'eng-hua

T'a-ch'eng (Ta-erh-pa-ha)

PEI-TA SHAN

Wu-su

Sui-lai (Ma-na-ssu)

Sui-ting (I-li)

I-ning (Kuldja)

TI-HUA (URUMCHI)

Ch'-t'ai

Ta-shih t'ou

Ch'i-chiao-ching

T'u-lu-fan (Turfan)

Ha-mi (Kumul)

Muz Art

T'o-k'o-hsün (Toksun)

Kumush

Yen-ch'i (Kara Shahr)

Hsing-hsing-hsia

K'u-ch'e (Kucha)

K'u-erh-lo (Korla)

Sha-ya (Shahyar)

Wen-su (Ak Su Kona Shahr)

Doral

Besh Toghrak

Su-fu (Kashgar Kona Shahr)

Pa-ch'u (Maral Bashi)

Su-lo (Kashgar Yangi Shahr)

Erh-ch'iang (Charkhlik)

Ying-chi sha (Yangi Hissar)

Yeh-erh-ch'iang (Yarkand)

C H I N A

Ch'ieh mo (Charchan Bazar)

P'u-li (Tash Kurghan)

Yeh-ch'eng (Karghalik)

Zanguya

Kurumluk

Kapa

Niya Bazar

Yü-tien (Keriya)

Polma

Department of State, Map Division
10746 July 1947

RESTRICTED

U. S. Government Printing Office S